1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

The sacred ones are used only during the great ceremonies, usually the Narra for the great majority of totems. It is then that all the wells of a moiety and the names of its dead ancestors are called out by the leader. The camp name is the one known by both men and women. No woman knows the sacred name of a well, or, for that matter, anything else that has to do with the sacred tribal life.

The list on page 46 shows that the chief totem of the Liaalaomir clan is a carpet snake. The names of the well are carpet snake's nose and menstruation blood, the latter referring indirectly to the actions of the snake.

The Djirin clan has the shark for a totem (see list, page 45), and the following names for its well: shark's head, ripples from a shark's swimming, hill from a tidal wave made by the shark when he created this country.

Although the well names refer to a totem which belongs to the other clans in the moiety, they also refer in particular to geographical aspects of one clan's territory, so that they have local significance. The same is true of the names of the mythological ancestors.

A man's name is taken from his male mari (mother's mother's brother) and his male marikmo (father's father). All sacred names are his marikmo's and not his mari's, but a man's camp names come chiefly from his mari; these latter also usually reflect totemic affiliation.

The symbol of the well is also painted on a man after his initiation and when he receives his totemic name in the Narra corroboree, and on a small boy when he is to be circumcised.

In addition to the relatives listed on page 16 as always included in the clan, there may be included within the clan: mari, male and female (mother's mother and mother's mother's brother); mokul rumeru (mother's mother's brother's daughter); marelker (mother's mother's brother's son); kutara, male and female (sister's daughter's son and sister's daughter's daughter); gurrong, male and female (father's sister's daughter's son and father's sister's daughter's daughter).

These relatives, too, may be blood or tribal in their relationship to ego. Men, for example, may be called brothers by ego and be clan members only remotely related to ego. The usual Murngin method of reckoning kin does not always operate within the clan, for, when there have been wrong marriages,[12] the practice of tracing descent through the mother and ignoring the father does not function. This

[12] See pages 105-106.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

keeps the kinship position of offspring of such a marriage adjusted to the organization of his group. The son of a woman and man who have married wrong and who are not dué (father's sister's son) and galle (mother's brother's daughter) to each other is called gatu by the man and waku by the woman, just as is a son by correct marriage. The sons by another wife of the man would call this child of an improper marriage brother, and the other members of the patrilineal line of the clan would call him by the kinship term they would use if he were the offspring of a proper marriage.[13]

The practice of tracing the descent of relatives within the clan through the father, and outside through the mother, although largely designed to strengthen the clan solidarity and create a sharp line of demarcation between it and other such groups, at times has had the opposite effect.

The Warumeri and Wangurri clans have until recently been bitter rivals for the possession of women of clans in the other moiety. Certain members of the Warumeri clan in the last generation married women who should have become the wives of Wangurri clansmen, since their fathers stood in the relationship of mother's brother to ego.

[13] The relatives from other clans would ignore the relationship of the son to the father in the case of a wrong marriage and call the child the proper term applied to him when tracing his place in the kinship system through the mother. Thus if ego's father married a woman ego called momo (father's mother), ego would call their child brother, for he would trace the relationship through his father, because of the influence of the clan and family; but ego's nati (mother's father), for example, would call the child waku (sister's son), instead of kaminyer (daughter's son, daughter's daughter) as he calls ego.

Nati, being outside the clan, would trace his relationship to the child of the wrong marriage through the mother. The mother in the above example would be nati's sister, so that the child would be sister's son to him. Ego's gawel (mother's brother) would call this child of ego's father by a wrong marriage to ego's momo, dué, instead of the usual waku, since he is father's sister's son if the relationship is traced through the mother.

It can be seen that this process of reckoning relationship through the mother by all outside clans is continually changing the kinship composition of the various clans. New lines of descent are constantly springing out of different clans for those of the kin who are outside its limits. A clan that would for a period have only a mari and marelker and a mari and mokul for the male and female relatives in one's clan other than one's own patrilineal line, could, by a wrong marriage of the male mari—let us say, to a waku—create a gurrong-kutara line of descent for ego on the old mari-marelker clan.

When a clan develops a subclan within it, and this smaller unit is rather strongly organized, there is a possibility of the same process being applied within the clan that ordinarily takes place outside it. When this happens the mari-marelker and gurrong-kutara lines may be found within the clan. This occurs very rarely because these subgroups are unusual within the clan.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

as his father's; for a father to be Yiritja and the son Dua would be impossible. No man has ever dreamed such an unorthodox concept—either because the moiety idea is such a complete part of Murngin thought that their dreams conform to it, or the men who have such dreams place no importance upon them and forget or suppress them. At all events, a child, male or female, ordinarily inherits only its father's clan and totems, and occasionally inherits in addition totems of another clan. Further, the dream clearly demonstrates a sociological connection between father and child even before birth. The author has recorded no birth without the dream.

Sometimes a man steals another's wife while she is pregnant. The child when born is considered a member of the new man's clan; when he becomes older he usually returns to his own father's clan and identifies himself with it, although he may have strong attachments to his second father's group.

All this indicates that patrilineal inheritance is from the actual father and his group, and not from a different clan, though of the same moiety; it also shows the importance of the actual father in Murngin thought.

Several informants volunteered that a man must abstain from the tabooed foods until he has had a child, because the release from the taboo made him quiet and settled so he would stop running after other women and would stay in one place to take care of his wives, children, and parents-in-law. The social implications of this are very important. By becoming a father he has finally become a husband; he has extended his patrilineal line descendingly and thereby strengthened his own family; and, third, he has, also through this child, strengthened his relationship to his wife's brother, to gawel (father-in-law), mokul (mother-in-law), and marelker (mother-in-law's brother). For, instead of only one direct reciprocal relation, he now has an additional indirect reciprocation with each. His son (or daughter) calls his wife's brothers "gawel" and has a strong bond of mutual aid and obligation with them. His son calls ego's mother-in-law "mari" and has a strong untabooed attachment to her; and to marelker the son also has a strong emotional relationship because ego's marelker is mari to the son. The creation of these social personalities shows the enormous addition to one's kinship personality through the birth of a son, who strengthens ego's position, adding to his security within the clan, the tribe, and with other tribes.

On the other hand, the birth of a daughter is of equal importance.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

582 mokul and the mokul is ego's mother's mother's blood-brother's daugh-
601 ter, he looks to this mokul to give him a daughter for his wife. Any offspring from the union would be called galle by ego.

This simple arrangement always keeps the kinship system functioning smoothly. The odd arrangement of the relatives created within the local clan has already been discussed in Chapter II.

614 A child inherits its totem from its father. When the totemic emblem is shown to the boy for the first time the father or clan leader says,
602 "This is your father," or "your grandfather." The boy will always call it by one of these terms. Most men call their totem "father." Their mother's totem is called arndi or gawel, and the totems of other clans are traced by the nearest relative in these clans. If this relative is marelker, for instance, and he calls the totem father, ego would use the term mari for it. Since most of the mythology is connected with the totems and ceremonies, kinship permeates the whole of Murngin culture. Its relationship to the mythological system will be considered later.

Principles of Murngin Kinship Structure

611 The two main elements in Murngin kinship are the patrilineal lines and their lateral connections through the intermarriage of the five generations of the seven lines of descent.

Perpendicular Relationships

601 All perpendicular relationships are *strong* and *unbreakable* since they
611 are patrilineal lines of fathers, sons, daughters, brothers, and sisters,
614 belonging to the same totemic clans and interlocking families. Distant *tribal* relatives called father, son, et cetera, are not under consideration. Clan solidarity and family cohesion prevent strife among the relatives who fit into the perpendicular relationship. If ego, for our purposes, is shifted one line to the right, he takes galle's place, and gawel becomes his father; or if he is shifted to the left to dumungur, this again is a father and son line of descent. Each of the seven lines of descent is built out of the restricted family, which preserves its continuity by the patrilineal laws that regulate descent from fathers to sons. The mother, although still considered a member of her father's clan, is through her children firmly bound to *their* clan. To be fully understood, her position must also be considered from the point of view of sister—she must be seen as a sister to her brother no less than as ego's mother.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI-17 Murngin OI 17

Dua	Yiritja
A^1 m. Buralung	B^1 m. Narit
f. Kalint	f. Naritjin
A^2 m. Ballung (Belin)	B^2 m. Burlain
f. Billindjint	f. Burlaindjint
D^1 m. Wamut	C^1 m. Kaidjawk
f. Wamutjin	f. Koitjin
D^2 m. Kamerdung	C^2 m. Bangardi
f. Kamindjint	f. Bangarditjin

Each subsection has a male and female term, the latter usually formed by suffixing "-djint" or "-tjint" to the root.

Murngin marriage rules differ from those of the other two major forms of section systems found in Australia. An A^1 male can marry women out of B^1 or B^2 subsections, and an A^2 male can marry the same women. The B^1 and B^2 subsections reciprocate with the A^1 and A^2 groups. The same is true of C^1 and C^2 and D^1 and D^2. In the Arunta system the four subsections of one moiety marry into the four subsections of the opposite moiety, but with the rule that only one subsection out of the first half can marry a single subsection out of the opposite four; with the Murngin, a man of one subsection can marry into either one or both of two subsections in the opposite moiety, but he cannot marry into the other two of the other moiety or into any of his own moiety. This reduces the subsections from the point of view of marriage to the four sections of the Kariera type:

$$A^{1,2} = B^{1,2}$$
$$C^{1,2} = D^{1,2}$$

The descent rules, however, follow the usual Arunta method. An A^1 or A^2 man marries a B^1 woman; her children are D^2. If an A^1 or A^2 man marries a B^2 woman, the children are D^1; if a B^1 or B^2 man marries an A^{2}[1] woman, the children are C^1; or if a B^1 or B^2 man marries an A^2 woman, the children are C^2.

When a C^1 or C^2 man marries a D^1 woman, the offspring of this union are B^1. If either of these men marries D^2, the children are B^2; if a D^1 or D^2 man has a C^1 wife, the children are A^2; or if they marry C^2, the children are A^1.

This can be expressed in the following chart (VII):[20]

A comparison of this with the Arunta and Kariera formulae shows the concrete differences in the three mechanisms and, further, how

[20] The = signs indicate marriage, and the arrows descent.

[1] [An apparent error, should be A^2, see charts VII & VIII.—Analyst]

1; Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

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the Murngin subsection system combines elements of the other two forms.[21]

Although the Murngin have eight named subsections, the Arunta and Kariera charts compared with the Murngin ones show that these eight divisions are grouped into pairs, so that actually the A^1 and A^2 subsections, for example, are but an A section, and B^1 and B^2 a B section. In other words, there are two intermarrying groups in both Murngin and Kariera, although in Kariera each one of these groups has only one name for the male members, whereas in Murngin there are two names for each marrying section because it has been divided into subsections.

Further examination shows only two lines of descent in each moiety of the Kariera form, whereas in the Murngin there are four lines of descent in each moiety. If we turn to the Arunta formula, we see

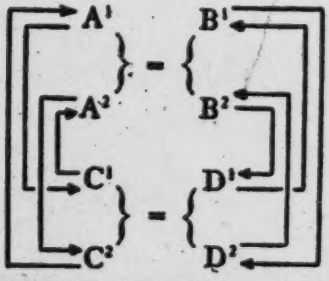

CHART VII.—THE MURNGIN SUBSECTION SYSTEM

eight lines of descent also, but four marriages instead of two as in the two other systems. To put this concretely, in Kariera the male lines of descent are A to D, D to A in moiety 1, and C to B, and B to C in moiety 2; for Arunta, A^1 to D^2, and from D^2 to A^1; from A^2 to D^1 and from D^1 to A^2 in moiety 1; and in moiety 2, from B^1 to C^1, C^1 to B^1, B^2 to C^2, and C^2 to B^2. In Murngin the son of an A^1 man may be either D^1 or D^2, depending upon which subsection the man married into; an A^2 man's children will also be D^1 or D^2. This is true of the male descent of all the subsections. In the Kariera, Arunta, and Murngin systems, in the event of a wrong marriage, "the father is thrown away." In the Kariera and Arunta this rule operates only for wrong marriages, since a member of a section or subsection in these systems can marry properly into only one other section or subsection. In Murn-

[21] See Warner, W. Lloyd, "Kinship Morphology of Forty-one North Australian Tribes," *American Anthropologist*, 1933, Vol. XXXV, No. 1, pages 63-86.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

gin society this is also a device used for wrong marriages in the kinship system, but in the subsection system it has been formalized so that A^1 or A^2, for example, is made into a regular spouse of B^1 or B^2, and neither of the males of B^1 or B^2 has any control over the descent of their children from the wives of A^1 and A^2. The child's subsection is always determined by the mother's position in the eight subsections, never by the father's.

To restate the situation, the kinship system of the Murngin is patrilineal and matrilineal; but the subsection system in descent, which is only an extension of the kinship system, is purely matrilineal. For as far as the descent of the child is concerned, it makes no difference if

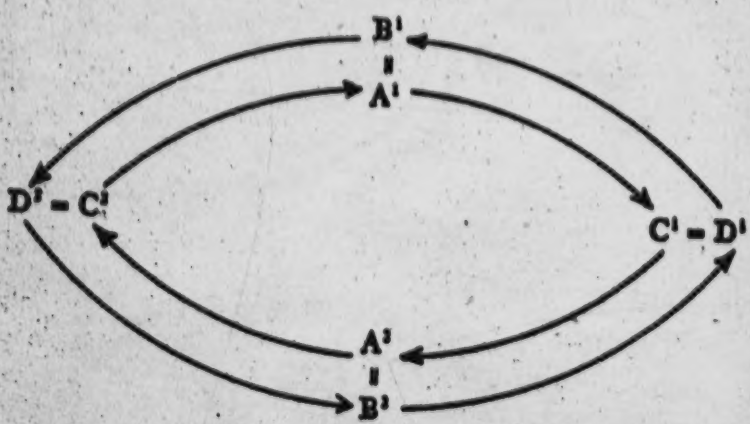

CHART VIII.—MATRILINEAL CYCLES OF THE SUBSECTION SYSTEM

the father belongs to the two regular subsections into which the mother's subsection ordinarily marries, or to an irregular one. The mother's subsection is final in determining the child's subsection.

Within the Murngin subsection system there are two unnamed matrilineal cycles or, to express it in another way, four lines of female descent (Chart VIII). The first is B^1—D^2—B^2—D^1—and B^1; the second, A^1—C^1—A^2—C^2—and A^1. These two unnamed cycles of descent through the female line show that, in addition to the named patrilineal moieties, the Murngin also have unnamed matrilineal moieties because of the descent through the mothers of a subsection. The child's subsection, however, is always in his father's moiety, even though his position in the subsection of his father's moiety is wholly dependent upon that of his mother's in her moiety.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

628 Darlwongo country and found the Marderpa man who, many years ago, had cut Danginbir's head off (see page 178).

628 688 Two Darlwongo men approached Natjimbui and told him that this Marderpa man chased them with spears while they were preparing to make their honeybee totem. This is a great crime among the Murngin and a deliberate insult to the totem of the clan. Because of this they were forced to take the string from off the emblem and put it back in their baskets, since the emblem would have lost its efficacy had they continued making it after this occurrence.

Natjimbui the next morning went to look for food. He was followed again by the two Darlwongo old men. When they had penetrated into a nearby jungle for some distance they came upon Natjimbui digging yams. Once more they said to him, "That Marderpa man chased us with spears while we were making our totem. Don't you feel sorry for your 778 mother?" (Their totemic emblem was called mother by Natjimbui be- 611 cause his mother was the nearest relative through whom he could trace his relationship to it.)

628 "Yes, I will do it. I do not forget my mother. I will do it tonight."

When night came the married men of the camp gave food to the single men. Everyone sat down at dusk and sang and talked. The Marderpa man was suspicious and did not trust the Darlwongo clansmen. He said out loud, for all the camp to hear, "I am all the same as a kangaroo. I sit up all night and watch."

Natjimbui sat down in the main camp. He did not sleep; he too watched. Hours went by. He grew tired of waiting and reached in his basket and took out the bone of the dead man. He unwrapped the paper bark from the relic and cut the bone in half. He wrapped one half and placed it once more in his basket. He held the other in his hand. He was far enough away from the Marderpa and other members of the camp so that no one could see what he was doing.

628 789 Natjimbui arose and walked over and sat down at the fire beside the Marderpa man. He started talking to him. While they talked he threw small stones into the fire, then he pretended to pick up a stone to throw, but instead of the stone he threw the bone into the fire. He was sure then that the Marderpa would soon be sleeping, since this was done to make the spirit come out of the bone and act upon the Marderpa in such a way that he would be easy to kill. By and by the Marderpa boy said, "I am very sleepy. I think I will go to sleep." They both lay down. Natjimbui continued talking. He asked questions, after some little time, to see if anyone would answer him. No one did. They were all asleep. He stealthily rubbed his spear with the other part of the relic to make it go straight and kill quickly, for he knew that the spirit would guide his 628 spear. He hooked up his spear and pointed at the Marderpa, but too many small boys were sleeping around the man. He took his leg and pushed

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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"Murngin" (Wulamba) Social Organization

RONALD M. BERNDT
London, England

IN RECENT years, the "Murngin" (Wulamba)[1] kinship system and social organization of northcentral and northeastern Arnhem Land, Northern Australia, have been the subject of much controversy and discussion among anthropologists: Warner (1930–31, 1937), followed by Lawrence and Murdock (1949), Radcliffe-Brown (1951, 1954), Lévi-Strauss (1949:216–46 *et seq.*; 1953:538–39, 543), and, recently, Leach (1951). In addition, various aspects have been discussed by Elkin (1933, 1950, 1953), Sharp (1934), Webb (1933), Berndt (1951), and Elkin, Berndt and Berndt (1950).

In this paper I do not intend to discuss this controversy, nor the Wulamba kinship system as such. These aspects will be treated in a more detailed paper to be published in the journal *Oceania*, in collaboration with Elkin. Here I will discuss specifically some significant features of this system of social organization, with particular reference to unilineal descent groups.[2]

On the whole, Radcliffe-Brown's (1951) criticism of Lawrence and Murdock's approach to Wulamba kinship was fully justified. He demonstrated that Warner's material was basically correct, while Lawrence and Murdock's argument rendered the whole system obscure and remote from real life. The material I worked through largely supports Radcliffe-Brown's contentions and agrees fundamentally with Warner's presentation. In addition, a number of further points are raised concerning structural implications, with most of which I am unable to deal here.

In the Wulamba asymmetrical system, based on marriage with a matri-cross-cousin, the matrilineal and patrilineal descent lines may be diagrammed in the manner adopted by Radcliffe-Brown (1951:46, Table III); see our Table 1.[3] Patrilineal descent is shown vertically, with patri-lines traced from the F.F., M.M.B., M.F., F.M.B., respectively. "Matrilineal" descent is shown diagonally. Five generation levels are associated with seven vertical columns. These latter go in pairs. Column L-1 (to use Radcliffe-Brown's labeling) contains persons who are related to EGO by relationships reciprocal to those in which EGO stands to those in column R-1; the reciprocal of NGADI is GOMINJAR, of GALWAL, WAGU, and so on. The same is the case with L-2 and R-2, L-3 and R-3. These vertical columns signifying patri-lines of descent can be indefinitely extended: but those shown here are the basic lines significant to the Aborigines; and there must always be an uneven number of such patri-lines. The diagonal columns signifying "matri-lines" of descent correspond, in uneven numbers, with the patri-lines. The whole pattern, transferred from the kinship system itself, rests on the principle that (e.g.) males in patri-line 0 find their spouses in the right-hand column, while females of patri-line 0 find their spouses in the left-hand column.

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
OII7 Murngin OII7

I. "BASIC" LINES OF DESCENT

The kinship system then is, as Radcliffe-Brown has mentioned (1951:48), based on three "basic" patri-lines, i.e., three classes of male relatives in the second ascending generation, the MARI, MARIMO and NGADI. M.M.B. is distinguished from F.F., but M.F. and F.M.B. are classed together. The inclusion of NGADIWALGUR, as a special variety of NGADI, gives a secondary patri-line. Radcliffe-Brown has discussed the "matri-lines" stemming from these, and has demonstrated that the existence of the term NGADIWALGUR with its reciprocal DUMUNGUR makes it necessary to have seven vertical columns. There are three basic patrilineal lines of descent and three basic "matrilineal" lines of descent: on this structural feature we agree with Radcliffe-Brown (1951:49). There are, however, certain differences: see Table 1. Although there are three basic patri-lines plus four secondary patri-lines; and three basic "matri-lines" plus four secondary "matri-lines," only one patri-line and one "matri-line" are of immediate importance to EGO. Patri-line O is significant to an EGO because through it he inherits his linguistic group (*mada*), and thus his clan (*mala*) position. The moiety too is patrilineal; through this line he inherits his ritual position in the sacred ceremonies, together with sections of the relevant mythology and songs, sacred emblems and poles, feathered strings, and sacred uterus dilly bag, his section of the linguistic group and clan totemic patterns. His ritual status is determined through his membership in this patri-line, which includes male siblings of his F., F.F., and male children of the latter. (The females of this line also inherit a ritual status, but I shall not discuss this here.)

This line is the important *bubaru*, the male descent line the sacred line through which a man prenatally receives his spirit, and into which when dead he merges as an ancestor. Magic too passes down this line, and all members of it are of the one moiety.

The "matri-line" (X in Table 1), cutting diagonally across the constant vertical "flow" of the patri-line, signifies a "submerged" line of descent. It is relevant to an EGO, but not to his father. It signifies too the importance of the line of his mother, who through her brother has been able to hand on to her son some of her acknowledged ritual status. She herself, because lacking in executive authority, cannot hand on such knowledge as she may have, but through the intense emotional siblings-of-opposite-sex bond (the strongest tabooed tie of all) she is able to delegate this duty to her brother, EGO's M.B. Consequently, EGO has a place in the patri-line of his M.B.; but this is actually of secondary importance, because his M.B. is of the opposite moiety.

But down this "matri-line" of EGO passes the knowledge and ritual status which skips a generation with the m. and M.B. and comes directly, so to speak, from EGO's M.M.B. to EGO himself, for these two are of the same moiety, i.e., from the M.M.B. to his Sr.D.S.

This is the important *maribulu* line, of the same moiety as EGO's patri-line. To all intents and purposes it is identified with EGO's own line, and the rights and privileges which he inherits through it may be the same as those

[text continues on p. 87]

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
OI17 Murngin OI17

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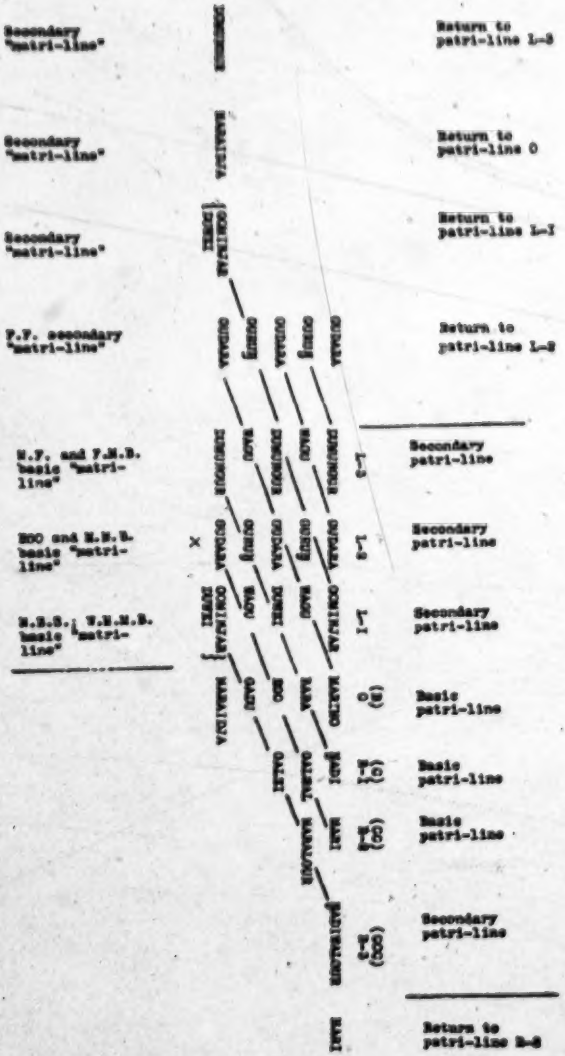
TABLE 1



2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
Oll7 Murngin Oll7

inherited through his own patri-line. The MARI and the MARIMO as cult leaders may be of the same patri-line and of the same linguistic group. They may belong to two parallel patri-lines, in a range of parallel patri-lines of the same linguistic group. Or they may belong to two separate patri-lines of two separate ranges of parallel patri-lines, of different (but closely allied) linguistic groups within the same clan. 60] 611

There is evidence to show that so close is the identification of EGO's patri-line headed by the MARIMO, and the M.M.B.'s line headed by the MARI, that people do not talk of the *marimobula*, but always of the *maribula*. And if there is some genealogical difference between MARIMO and MARI, as there may well be, it is the *baburu* and *maribula*, the latter being at the apex. In ritual life, in the handing down of the most sacred poles and soul bags, in bestowing sacred patterns like an insignia of power upon the initiand, in passing on relevant sections of sacred myth, religious dogmata, song cycles, "inside" words, invocations, personal names, magical power, and so on, the *maribula* is of equal, if not greater, importance than the *baburu*.

II. MATRILINEAL AND PATRILINEAL DESCENT

Now we, with Radcliffe-Brown, have called this the "matri-line" or the "line of matrilineal descent." There is, as we have seen, some measure of identification between MARI and MARIMO. Descent from the MARI runs diagonally from M.M.B. through the m. to her son; from the latter, whom we take as an EGO, through his sister's daughter to his Sr.D.S.: the *maribula* "flow" is linked through females who are siblings or mothers (m. and m.sr.) to EGO. Power and privilege received through the *maribula* do not go from MARI to Sr.S., but to the sr.d., who is the transmitter, to the MARI's Sr.D.S. The females, the MARI's sister, the M.B.'s sister, are agents in this transmission. Are we justified in calling this a "matri-line," or a "line of matrilineal descent"? Let us examine this more closely. Radcliffe-Brown's definition (1951:43) is unsatisfactory, and tells us nothing beyond the fact that a man is descended patrilineally, being followed by his son, and "matrilineally," being followed by his Sr.S. But in reality here a man is not followed by his Sr.S., but by his Sr.D.S. To view the diagonal lines of "matrilineal descent" in Radcliffe-Brown's way is to deny the significance of the *maribula* and the MARIMO-MARI identification. [114]

A. *Formation of the Patri-Line.* Let us first consider the formation of the patri-line. If we modify Fortes' definition of a lineage (1944:305; 66; 1945:30) we are provided with a working framework. It is not a definition of a patri-line among the Wulamba, but it does help us to understand what we desire to show. Thus we can say that the patri-line spans a certain number of generation levels (in this case to the second ascending generation), and includes female siblings of the males of each generation level. But for the purpose of descent it is strictly agnatic and unilineal; females in this context do not, to any appreciable extent, inherit or transmit. Now this is the position of the *baburu* and the *maribula*, as with other lines of descent (all seven we have mentioned above, disallowing 611

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
O117 Murngin O117

any identification between those of the same moiety). But females serve as an agent or link in the transmission of rights and prestige (status and privilege), not through their patri-line, but through their matri-line. They are, so to speak, a channel through which this knowledge passes: knowledge from their M.F. which they have no right to hold themselves, but which comes to their male children. They serve as links, that is between EGO's m. and m.m., allowing EGO to receive this knowledge through the nominal head of his M.M.F.'s patri-line *or baburu;* this head is the M.M.B. This knowledge does not come through a man's M.B. There is no such link between EGO and his M.B., for the latter is too deeply involved with his own *baburu* and his *maribulu*, which would be EGO's NGADIWALGUR's patri-line. This comes from a man to his d., and passes through her d. to the latter's son; but as the knowledge is in the hands of a man's son, upon his death it may be taken for all intents and purposes to pass from this custodian, via his sr. and sr.d., to his Sr.D.S.

B. *Three Forms of Descent.* Now, we may observe that we are dealing with three forms of descent as indicated in the structure of the Wgalamba kinship. The first is the patri-line (or line of patrilineal descent); the second is EGO's mother's patri-line; and the third is the "line of inheritance" EGO's so-called "line of matrilineal descent." Each of these must be examined in order that we may know the nature of each, with a view to arriving at a definition.

C. *Line of Patrilineal Descent.* The line of patrilineal descent consists of all males and all females descended from a common forefather of the third ascending generation, in an unbroken male line. It is an agnatic descent group and strictly unilateral. The females belong to it in name, but lose their formal identity upon marriage outside the descent line. They serve as "agents" through which their male children may achieve some recognition (status) in the cult life of their M.B. Further, they serve as "links" through which their daughter's male children can gain recognition from their MARI.

The male members of this line of patrilineal descent are, in a manner of speaking, a descent group. We shall return to this aspect later. We may, however, say that all the male members of this line, as well as female members, belong to a patri-line. For our purpose here the "patri-line" and the "line" of patrilineal descent are to all intents and purposes one and the same. Moreover, this patri-line must not be viewed as a lineage, although we will discuss this, too, later.

D. *EGO's Matri-Line.* Now a man's mother's patri-line is of the same nature as the patri-line: strictly unilineal descent through males, traced to the third ascending generation, and including females who are siblings in each generation level. Females are agents or links, through which, on the one hand, their sons can obtain recognition in the cult life of their B., and, on the other, their sis.'s sons gain recognition in their patri-line.

A man's patri-line is of one moiety, his mother's patri-line of the opposite moiety. A man's association with the cult life of his mother's patri-line is of a "submerged" nature. Through his physiological connection with his mother, he must inevitably have some "rights" in her patri-line: but he can never as-

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
OII7 Murngin OII7

sume a dominant rôle in any of its corporate activities. He can become initiated into its cult "mysteries," certain aspects can be revealed to him; but, however much he may know about these, he remains virtually an outsider.

A man's submerged association with the mother's line of descent may be viewed in terms of mutual aid. It is described in the following way. A man's bones are made from seminal fluid, his flesh from his mother's blood. A male of one moiety and a female of the other have combined in mutual "work" (i.e., *djama*, "work," sexual intercourse) and through their efforts formed the fetus. Because of his bones, the enduring part of his physical body, and because of the patri-ancestor who animated his fetus, a man may be acknowledged a member of his patri-line. But because his mother gave him his flesh, so to speak, he has some connection with her patri-line. Because he has only flesh from her, he cannot handle the sacred emblem poles of her patri-line. But his bones are really his father's *baburu* sacred poles; and because of this, and because of his ancestor's spirit, he attains full status in his father's patri-line. Because his mother co-operated with his father in bringing about his birth, because she added something to his physical being, he must always assist in the ceremonies of his mother's patri-line. When men perform on their sacred ground, those of the opposite moiety aid them in minor dancing, in singing, in calling invocations. But they may never handle the sacred emblems, never impersonate their ancestors; the cloak of spiritual sacredness may never descend upon them. A parallel with the Nuba may be drawn here (Nadel 1947:213).

Within the mother's patri-line one finds relationships such as *momo*, NGADI, GALWAL, *yandi*, GALEI, *galei*; intimacy with the females with the *galei*, sexual intimacy, with the *yandi* and *momo*, freedom of expression, lack of constraint; formal constraint with the males, GALEI, NGADI and GALWAL. There too, ideally speaking, are the M.Bros. of each generation of males of the patri-line. This is EGO's avunculine; its importance to EGO depends on the importance of the M.B.

E. *MARI-GU'DARA Line of Inheritance.* The third line of descent is of a different nature: it signifies EGO's descent or inheritance through females to the third ascendant generation level, headed by a male, linking EGO with the patri-line of his m.m. This is not the "matrilineal descent line" spoken of by Radcliffe-Brown, when a man is followed by his Sr.S. Murdock (1949:15, 44) and Herskovits (1949:290), for example, have given us definitions relating to matrilineal descent. Do these conform with what we find among the Wulamba? First, we may observe that this "descent line" cutting diagonally across the structure of the system does not mean that EGO is assigned exclusively to that group (consisting of all females of that line and their male siblings): i.e., it does not assign a person to his mother's kin group. If the latter were inferred, this would mean that EGO would be affiliated with female and male members of both his mother's patri- and matri-lines. Now we may be prepared to say that by matrilineal descent we mean that a person belongs to his mother's "family," but that for purposes of inheritance and succession this is traced

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
O117 Murngin O117

through females to a named or presumed female ancestress, i.e., from S. to m., to m.m., and so on. To Radcliffe-Brown (1952:36) matrilineal succession means that "the greater part of the body of rights of an individual . . . are derived by him through his mother and cannot be transmitted to his children but devolve upon his sister's children." This is obviously what is meant by matrilineal descent: rights, power, privileges, etc., conferring, supplementing, or withholding membership in the group which forms the descent line, "flow" down through a man's female siblings and are held only for the span of their lifetimes by male children of these female siblings. In this way a privilege (e.g., may be held by a man who obtained it through his m., from her M.B.: the principle is inheritance and succession through a M.B. to Sr.S. But in our Wulamba structure, descent is different: the M.B. is not in the position to hand on any more than rights, privileges, and entree into the cult life of his own patri-line: he has, of course, as I have indicated, some affinity with the patri-line of his mother, but his main interests lie in his own patri-line and in that of his own MARI-GUDARA inheritance line. Within this context, then, the M.B. is of little importance and is not a factor for consideration.

When we say that an EGO traces descent back from his m. to his m.m. and back to a female ancestress, this is matrilineal descent, and females serve as agents in transmitting. In the Wulamba case, an EGO's m. and m.m. are agents who serve as connecting links (not being themselves transmitters). But what they serve to represent is not such a matrilineal sequence, for it is the patri-line of the m.m. which holds that which is to be transmitted. That is to say, the knowledge an EGO receives from his maternal grandparent, a male, belongs to his same moiety: it "skips" a generation, and also a moiety. It is really an oblique line of inheritance from the head of a person's m.m.'s patri line, this head being his M.M.B., of the same moiety as himself and closely identified with (possibly one and the same as) the head of his own patri-line. We can call this the MARI-GUDARA line of inheritance. One of its principal functions is to strengthen patriliny.

III. DEFINITIONS

Thus we may state that patrilineal descent is a dominating factor in Wulamba society. The patri-line is reinforced by the MARI-GUDARA line of inheritance, while there is a "submerged" relationship between a person and his mother's kin, i.e., agnatically, because of the importance of the patri-line. But there is no acknowledged matrilineal descent, whether of a submerged nature or otherwise.

Thus a patri-line signifies descent through males to an acknowledged common progenitor in the second or third ascending generation levels, and includes male siblings of each generation level. These form the active members of the patri-line. The females of a patri-line are, nevertheless, closely bound to it: this is exemplified in the siblings-of-opposite-sex relationship. They serve as links between male members of their line and their daughter's sons.

EGO's matri-line is his mother's patri-line defined in this same way: a

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
O117 Murngin O117

person's association with this line is of a "submerged" nature, and rests on the division of labor between his father and his mother which resulted in his conception. It involves acknowledgment of a maternal blood tie.

The MARI-GUDARA line of inheritance is from M.M.B.'s patri-line to EGO's patri-line. Just as the wives of the males of EGO's patri-line come from his m.'s patri-line, so the *mari*'s of the males of EGO's patri-line are found in his M.M.B.'s patri-line.

Now these three lines are the most important to a person: the *baburu*, *maribula*, and *gandibula* (including NGADI). They are looked upon as being connected to one another by close consanguineal ties.

The "affinal" patri-lines of importance to an EGO are the *wagubula* (containing his Sr.S. and his patri-cross-cousin) and the *gadiwalgurabula* (containing his wife's MARI, and his own MARI's wife).

IV. NATURE OF DESCENT LINE

A. *Leach's Argument.* We must now turn to the problem of the nature of this descent line. But before doing so, we must consider some remarks made by Leach (1951:24–29, 31–34, 51–53). It is his contention "that the corporate group of persons who have the decisive say in bringing about an arranged marriage is always a group of co-resident males representing, as a rule, three genealogical generations. . . ." Membership of such groups is defined by descent as well as residence. Thus his proposition is, "In a unilaterally defined descent system where a clan . . . ceases . . . to be a localized group, then, in general, it ceases to be a corporate unit for the purposes of arranging a marriage. The corporate group which does arrange a marriage is, in such circumstances, always a group of males who, beside being members of the same lineage or clan, share a common place of residence." These are local descent groups. Diagrammatic local descent groups are local lines: and the latter is distinguished from Radcliffe-Brown's descent line (1951:43). Descent lines, says Leach, have nothing to do with local grouping: the number of basic descent lines in a diagram relating to the kinship system depends upon how many different kinds of relative are recognized in the grandparents' generation. It has nothing to do with the number of local descent groups existing in the society. Failure to distinguish between these two notions has, says Leach, led to confusion. He says that "an important difference between these two is that the descent line comprises at least five generations; the local line considers three generations. . . ."

The problem before us is, then, to test this proposition and the usefulness of the concept "local descent group" or "local line." Leach considers that (e.g.) the type of cross-cousin marriage found among the Wulamba can usefully, for purposes of comparison, be treated as an institutional isolate. We agree with Leach's argument that the seven descent lines shown in Warner's work and by this paper are not actual segments of the total society. Lawrence and Murdock, as well as Lévi-Strauss, made this mistake and so inferred that the system was circular. We agree, then, with Radcliffe-Brown in insisting that

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
OI17 Murngin OI17

they are descent lines. But at the same time, Radcliffe-Brown failed to make clear just what is the degree of correspondence between these descent lines and the local descent groups which constitute Wulamba society. Do we, however, agree with Leach's explanation?

Leach constructs a chart (1951:33, Fig. 7), which includes relatives genealogically related to EGO while he is a youth: i.e., those who are socially important to him as a young man. Warner's diagram is thus redrawn to show moiety arrangement. Leach calls the local descent groups CC, B, C, and CCC (see Table 1).

B, C, CC, and CCC are no longer descent lines but local descent groups: B is allied to CC and balanced against C and CCC. B need not, but may, be a part of CC. We may agree with Leach, who says that the MARI and MARIMO cannot be the same person but they can be "clan" brothers. This point has been noted above. The point in question is the "balance" between wife-givers and wife-receivers. What compensation does a group give when receiving a wife? Leach discusses the status superiority of GALWAL in relation to EGO, and of MARI to GALWAL. The argument is thus: B and CC are allies and stand in balanced opposition to C and CCC; taken in pairs there is an exchange of women. In this manner, although the status difference between "wife-givers" and "wife-receivers" is admitted, the over-all system is represented as one of equilibrium. The economic and status relations are considered the most important theme to be derived from Warner's study.

Now, reorganizing a certain section of Warner's diagram, as Leach has done, does not resolve the problems which he raised. The re-assembling of terms actually adds nothing further than facilitating access to material already latent in Warner's diagram. It tells us nothing more than what Warner has already said. The same number of individuals are accounted for: B and CC, and C and CCC, both belong to different moieties. If B and CC are identified as "brother" groups, as C and CCC may be, then an "exchange" of wives is assumed. Thus we can say that the MARIMO (B) receives as his wife a *momo* (C); he does not give his own sister in exchange (so to speak) to his *momo's* brother NGADI, but his "clan" brother MARI (CC) gives his sister (*mari*) to the NGADI (C) and he is thus compensated; the MARI (CC) is compensated by receiving the sister of the NGADI's clan brother, NGADIWALGUR (CCC). Now, who gives the latter a wife? In Leach's diagram a "clan" sister of CC goes to him, thus placing the local groups CC and B at a disadvantage, at least for the time being. There is not really a balance between "wife-receivers" and "wife-givers," and the over-all system (as explained by Leach) is not one of equilibrium. For equilibrium to be attained, the NGADIWALGUR should receive a wife who is the MARIMO's sister, as compensation for having given his own sister to MARI (a "clan" brother of MARIMO) as wife. But NGADIWALGUR marries a "clan" sister (or actual sister) of MARI, while MARIMO's sister marries a GOMINJAR, who may be equated with a NGADI. But need there be absolute equilibrium? And if there is, need it be achieved in one generation, i.e., in the generation of EGO's grandparents? Leach's

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
O117 Murngin O117

analysis of this section of Warner's system omits consideration of EGO's sister's position, and does not take into account the compensatory factors involved in EGO's own marriage. To understand equilibrium (or for that matter disequilibrium) in a kinship system of this kind, to understand the ramification of compensatory factors, we must consider EGO as an adult, for it is his child-producing potentiality which is important.

B. *Asymmetrical Nature of System.* When an EGO marries, certain individuals become involved. For discussion we may diagram as in Table 2, on the basis of Leach.

That is, EGO receives a wife from C group. His group B (i.e., all members of it), with his MARI group (principally his own MARI), i.e., CC, aid him in accumulating gifts which will be given to C group. These gifts go principally

TABLE 2

into the hands of EGO's wife's father. A division is then made by this GALWAL, who gives presents to the group of his daughter's MARI (the NGADIWALGUR, CCC), who is incidentally his own W.M.B. and of the line of his own MARI; the remaining goods are distributed throughout the GALWAL's *babaru*.

When EGO's sister marries, certain individuals become involved: the same principle is involved here as above.

On a wider range, the compensatory factors involved can be diagrammed (see Table 3). As one may see by a glance at this diagram, the distribution of goods and services (in the form of reciprocal duties) between persons within the two moieties which contain the local groups is unequal. (I am not considering here the question of intangibles.) The only way in which they might be regarded as equal would be to classify all the groups of one moiety as against all the groups of the opposite moiety. Now this may be done in practice, so that any inequalities are wiped out.

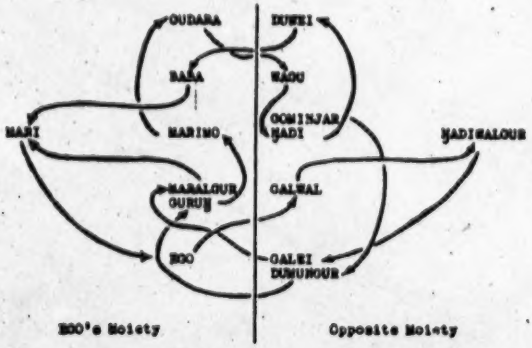
What is, however, revealed by Table 3 is the chain of duties which links a man with his MARI, his obligations to his wife's F., and the latter's to his daughter's MARI. That is to say, the main principle, which is simple enough, and which governs the system, is that the MARI, as the most important of all EGO's relatives, because of the emotional bond existing between the two, because of his general identification with EGO's own patri-line, aids his grandson (his Sr.D.S.) upon his betrothal; but he does not aid his sr.d.d., for through her (EGO's sister) he receives his compensation. A M.B. receives compensation

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
OI17 Murngin OI17

on the marriage of his daughter, but part of this must always go to the latter's MARI. The key positions, then, are those of GALWAL and MARI—the M.B. and M.M.B.; they may be viewed by an EGO as positions of superior status.

Table 3, however, demonstrates the asymmetrical nature of the kinship system. It will be noticed that those in the second ascending generation are receivers and givers (note incoming and outgoing arrows), but the MARI receives more than he gives. This is counterbalanced by his sister's marriage with NGADIWALGUR, when the diagram begins to repeat itself in order to ensure a flow of goods from the outside—that is to say, to ensure that a "spread" or a coverage of a number of groups is made where marriages are

TABLE 3



concerned. There will not in reality be identification of groups within one moiety: it will necessarily be unstable (i.e., as Leach has observed, 1951:52, any system of balances will be unstable).

Or consider the same problem between wife-givers and wife-receivers (Table 4). Three groups are found on *X* side and two on *Y* side: EGO receives his wife from his GALWAL, who in turn receives his wife from his GALWAL, EGO's M.M.B. These symbolize the descent lines of inheritance discussed above. These *X* and *Y* lines are recurrent through the generations, i.e., the MARI (e.g.) receives his wife from his M.B. in the generation level above him. Seniority in status does not depend on a man's giving his d. to a male in the generation below; it is ascribed to him through seniority and position in his relevant generation level. A MARI will always have a higher status than a GALWAL, and the latter than an EGO. Such relationships are implicit, not only in the kinship situation, but throughout social life.

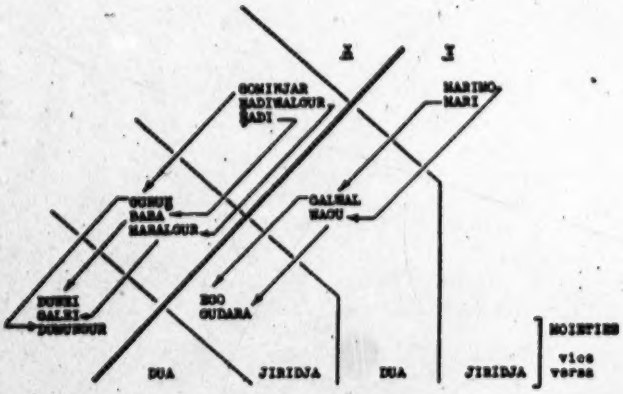
C. *Local Descent Group-Line versus Descent Line.* We may now return to the crux of our problem and examine the term "local descent group" or "local line," which Leach has used in preference to "descent line."

The "local lines" would be, according to Leach (1951:33), CC, B, C, CCC

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
OI17 Murngin OI17

(to use his symbols). Thus EGO's local descent group would contain himself, his father, and his F.F., and, one assumes, the male siblings of each of these. This group is said to be a corporate unit, sharing a common place of residence and being a part of some larger group which has ceased to function as a unit. This is an assumption, partly substantiated by Warner's data, and partly assumed from the composition of the lines of patrilineal descent (the patri-lines). Now, I would argue that the basic unit in Wulamba society is what I have termed the patri-line, and Radcliffe-Brown, "the line of patrilineal descent." This line (i.e., EGO's patri-line O or Leach's B) should contain at any one time MARIMO, BABA, WAWA, GADU, and MARAIDJA (including unmarried or widowed, or otherwise returned, *marimo, mugul'buba, jaba, gadu, maraidja*):

TABLE 4



and this will include male siblings of each of these, with their sons and S.S. The "narrow" patri-line refers to direct descent from actual father to actual son, and that is what is diagrammed. The patri-line as a corporate body must include male siblings, their sons and S.S. This is what is meant when we talk of the descent line, the patri-line of which an EGO is a member. It is not just a diagrammatic device. Further, it should not comprise only EGO, his F., and his F.F., as Leach has noted, but must and does contain relatives of the first and second ascending kinship grades as well as of the first and second descending kinship grades. Old men take young wives. EGO's F. has in a number of cases had several wives before EGO's birth, while when EGO is a small child he may have classificatory S. and S.S. who are his actual father's S.S. or F.S.S.S. by another mother, or his F.B.S.S. or F.B.S., and so on. Empirical material should form the basis of any diagrammatic construct.

Now the *patri-line* may be defined as above, containing males who are F., F.F., B., S., and S.S. to an EGO. They will be actual, as well as classificatory, male siblings or sons and S.S. of any of these. This is the agnatic unilineal

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
OI17 Murngin OI17

descent group which can be brought into focus by consideration of its corporateness, its sense of common acting and belonging, its oneness as the *babaru*. I would prefer to call the members of this *babaru*, in totality, a *unilineal descent group* (e.g., Fortes, 1953:25) or *corporate descent group*. In its narrowest sense it is the direct line from F.F. to S.S., in its widest it incorporates male siblings of these persons, and female siblings of each generation grade who have not married outside. But the corporate descent group must exclude female siblings who are not coresident, for the term "corporate" suggests sufficiently close residence to enable more or less regular participation in organized group activities.

Now the patri-line suggests agnatic descent. Diagrammatically or otherwise we can speak of this collection of people as having each a definite position in such a *line*, but together they form the unilineal descent group and behave as a corporate unit. I do not consider that the use of the term "local line" in preference to "descent line" refines our definitions. But if we use descent line or patri-line to signify the type of descent, and to refer to an EGO's *immediate male* forebears and descendants, taking into account the depth of genealogical memory (in this case normally five generation levels, two above and two below), then it is a useful term. If we are to indicate the corporateness of the *babaru*, which will include male siblings and their S. and S.S., as well as unmarried female siblings of each of these, then we must use a descriptive term like "unilineal descent group" or "corporate descent group" or even Leach's "local descent group." The diagrammatization of this group may be designated the "local line," signifying its acknowledged totality.

D. *The Patri-Line (Descent Line): Corporate Descent Group.* Now the patri-line (descent line) is the minimal descent group. It is coresident with the maximal descent group, i.e., the totality of the acknowledged corporate descent group noted above.

All these male relatives (kin) with their wives occupy a specified tract of country over which they have hunting and fishing rights. In this area reside the spirits of their ancestors; in it are found their sacred sites and totemic centers, and to it belong their sacred designs and emblems. Excluding their wives they are the *corporate descent group;* including their wives, they are the *local horde*, the male-female co-operative hunting, fishing, and food-collecting unit.

E. *Parallel Descent Groups (Linguistic Group).* But within this specified territory are *parallel descent groups*. There may not be many of these, perhaps no more than two or three or at the most half a dozen. But together they form the *mada* or *linguistic group*.[4] Persons of the same generation level in these parallel descent groups are classificatory brothers, acknowledging a common ancestry, which may not always be genealogically traceable. They do not form a *clan* (*mala*), but together (as parallel descent groups) comprise one of several linguistic groups which make up the clan. Several *babaru* of varying size, then, in a parallel fashion, form the linguistic group.

F. *Minimal and Maximal Range of Babaru.* The *babaru* (the corporate descent group) tends to be the smallest unit outside EGO's direct descent line.

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
OII7 Murngin OII7

Male siblings of any generation may segment with their descendants: this is particularly the case with male siblings of the second and third ascending generation levels. Actual relationship between members of these parallel groups tends to be somewhat vaguely conceived after the second generation, when use may be made of classificatory terminology considered to be more or less accurate. Each parallel group tends, too, to be more or less of the same size. The linguistic group signifying its maximal range is exogamous. Now, in my opinion the linguistic group could be treated as a lineage: but our labeling it a lineage would depend on our definition.

It may be possible to view the *babarn* as the effective nuclear lineage, conforming with Fortes' definition (1949:9): thus each "segment" would be an effective nuclear lineage which in toto (and in parallel linkage) would form the wider lineage or linguistic group. But our definition of lineage would have to be made, not only in terms of genealogically traceable male relatives, but also by allowing some coverage of classificatory male relatives who are viewed as belonging to a common unilineal descent group—which is exactly what the linguistic group is.

G. *Nature of Linguistic Group and Clan.* Each descent group is the *babarn;* it forms the basis for the expanded family, spread across the parallel descent groups within the linguistic group. All male members of the *babarn* have a common interest and a sense of belonging to a common stretch of country, of sharing a common sacred background. The head of the *babarn* will be the MARIMO, and it is upon his decision (usually) that fights and feuds are begun, continued, and terminated: he is, more or less, the jural head of his group. As we have seen, several of such groups form the linguistic group, which means that such parallel groups not only occupy the same ground, hunt together, join in sacred ceremonies together, and so on, but also speak a common dialect which distinguishes them from other linguistic groups. As a linguistic group, these parallel descent groups have in common sacred emblems, songs, sections of mythology, and patterns or totemic designs.

Now, it is true that, as Leach has remarked (1951:25), "The number of basic descent lines in such a diagram [i.e., the kinship system set out diagrammatically] depends merely upon how many different kinds of relative are recognized in the grandfather's generation. It has nothing to do with the number of local descent groups existing in the society." But the classification of such a system into seven basic and secondary patri-lines that symbolize local descent groups is an indication that a categorization takes place. This categorization is an abstract, so to speak, of what actually occurs. It is nothing so rigid as seven "watertight" groups; but what is inferred is a scattering of consanguineal and affinal relatives, throughout a number of linguistic groups. It symbolizes range.

Within the parallel groups forming a linguistic group one finds all kin who are actual and classificatory F.F., F., S., and so on. One might also conceivably find a scattering of relatives who belong to the patri-line of one's MARI, assuming the close identification of MARI with MARIMO. But usually the

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
OII7 Murngin OII7

legal institutions found in the society—and this is a function of political organization." The more we consider the question of lineage structure, the less we are willing to classify the corporate descent group of Wulamba type as a lineage. There are, however, striking similarities. For example, writes Fortes (1953:26), "where the lineage is found as a corporate group all the members of a lineage are to outsiders jurally equal and represent the lineage when they exercise legal and political rights and duties in relation to society at large." Thus among the Wulamba the corporate descent group, the *baburu*, will be viewed, in toto, by different outsiders as a *maribula*, a *gadjiwalgurabula*, *wagubula*, *gandibula*, *gudarabula*, and so on, depending on what type of relative is found there. "My mother comes from there," or "My sister's son comes from there" thus those people are "my *gandibula*" or "my *wagubula*." All the people within that group will be conveniently classified as "those of my *gandibula*" and so on: all are equally classed with "my mother" or "sister's son," as the case may be, although terminological differences between certain individuals within the group are recognized. But all are held responsible for the actions of any individual within. There is thus a collective responsibility in blood vengeance and in feud, or in running the gauntlet in a *magarada* "peace ceremony." This is thus a function of the Wulamba descent group, as well as, apparently, of the lineage (p. 26).

However, an aspect which demarcates the Wulamba descent group from the lineage is the latter's presumed perpetuity in time. Fortes (p. 27) discusses its continuity, which means its perpetual structural existence—the perpetuation of defined rights, duties, offices, social tasks, and so on, vested in the lineage as a corporate unit. Among the Wulamba, as we have seen, genealogical memory is short. The greatest span of any descent line is five to six generations. But segmentation occurs at any point, so that a number of parallel descent groups are ranged to form a linguistic group, and genealogical connections between them may not always be accurately stipulated. Nevertheless, within the range of the parallel descent groups we find the perpetuation of defined rights which will be primarily of a ritual order, and relating to rights over patterns and emblems, dances, songs, myth sections, and so on; also rights to hunt a particular natural species; rights to make certain kinds of bags; and, sometimes, but rarely, specified tasks like canoe-making, or prerogatives concerning stone-ax and stone-blade quarries, deposits of ochre, and so on. This again raises some interesting questions, highly relevant to our concept of lineage and descent group alike.

It is true, too, as Fortes has mentioned (p. 29) that the descent group must be studied as a part of the total social system. He considers that the main methodological contribution to such studies has been the approach from the angle of political organization (p. 30). Whether this can be done for the Wulamba descent groups remains to be seen. Or again, that descent is fundamentally a jural concept (Radcliffe-Brown 1952): we see, says Fortes (1953:30), "its significance, as the connecting link between the external, that is political and legal, aspect of what we have called unilineal descent groups,

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OI17 Murngin OI17

The Aborigines of East Arnhem Land

A BOOMERANG

A nation's soul at stake!
Now seared and hurt with ill;
Bereft of stick and stake,
By callous alien's will.

A nation's soul at stake!
And that the white man's soul!
He must atonement make
Ere he redeem it whole.

—J.E.P.

Present Condition and Possible Future

144 The natives of East Arnhem Land belong to the Aboriginal race which, prior to white settlement, occupied the whole of this Australian continent. Though these north coastal districts were, during a long past, frequently visited by maritime traders from the Malay Archipelago, there is no evidence of any racial admixture sufficient to produce a variation of physical or mental characteristics, but some few cultural traces of these visitations are to be observed.

582 The social organisation of these people conforms in general
616 principle to that which is familiar to all students of this Australian
617 race. There are, first of all, two individually exogamous, but intermarrying moieties, in this case known as Yirritcha and Dua respectively. Each of these moieties is divided into four sub-sections, making eight sub-sections in all. Marriage can only be between a man and a woman of opposite moieties, and is further regulated by the fact that a man of a particular sub-section of one moiety may marry only a woman of a particular sub-section of the opposite moiety. (See page 8.)

[611] The moieties are determined by patrilineal descent, but the sub-sections by matrilineal descent. That is, the children of a Yirritcha man will also belong to the Yirritcha moiety, but their sub-section is determined by that of the mother, irrespective of that of the father. Therefore, a Yirritcha man of the Bungardi sub-section normally marries a Dua woman of the Kumandjan sub-section. Their children belong to the father's moiety, and so are Yirritcha, but belong to the Bulain sub-section. A

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OI17 Murngin OI17

Kumandjan woman's children will always belong to the Bulain sub-section, and this order obtains right through the intermarriage of the eight sub-sections of the tribe. 582 611 616 617

All the members of each sub-section, both male and female, possess a definite relationship to some particular bird or animal, which constitutes their class totem or "jungoin." This form of totemism is but poorly developed, and any mature person, after passing through a brief ceremony, may freely kill and eat his or her totem animal. (See page 16.) 616 617

In this area the distinctive feature of the tribal organisation is the emphasis placed on the local hordes or clans, which are of great number, and in some cases contain but few individuals. Each horde consists of men of one moiety only, with their wives of the opposite moiety, and each horde possesses a definitely defined territory, which in every case includes a ceremonial totemic centre. This ceremonial totemism is, in contrast to the class totemism, very highly developed, and is of the utmost significance and importance. 614 621 778

These ceremonial totems, which are very numerous, in the vast majority of cases consist of— 532 778

(a) Representations of utensils and implements believed to have been originated, used and conferred upon the people by certain mythological ancestors.

(b) Representations of natural species associated in legend with these ancestors.

(c) Representations of these mythological ancestors themselves.

All of these are highly conventionalised in design.

These "Muraian," as they are called, lie at the basis of most of the ceremonial life of the people. They are most jealously guarded, and are believed to exercise a profound influence on the fortunes of the clan. The revelation of and the explanation of these "Muraian" constitute one of the most important stages in the education of the young men. 614 778

During the "Nara" ceremonies, which are associated with these "Muraian," the initiates have impressed upon them the ancient tribal regulations and sanctions. They are warned against being insolent to their elders, against dishonesty, against lying, against improper relations with women, and so are enforced many excellent ethical lessons. During their period of instruction they are placed under a food tabu, and are informed that any breach of the regulations taught will result in illness or deformity. 796 867 [784]

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OI17 Murngin OI17

The regular system of marriage between the sub-sections, with the sub-sections of the offspring, is as follows:— 582 617 611

Yiritcha man	Dua woman	Yiritcha children	
		Male	Female
Ngarit	Bilindjan	Bangardi	Bangaritjan
	Kalian	Kaijark	Koitjan
Bulain	Kalian	Kaijark	Koitjan
	Bilindjan	Bangardi	Bangaritjan
Kaijark	Warmutjan	Ngarit	Ngaritjan
	Kumandjan	Bulain	Bulaindjan
Bangardi	Kumandjan	Bulain	Bulaindjan
	Warmutjan	Ngarit	Ngaritdjan

Dua man	Yiritcha woman	Dua children	
		Male	Female
Buralang	Bulaindjan	Warmut	Warmutjan
	Ngaritjan	Karmarung	Kumandjan
Balang	Ngaritjan	Karmarung	Kumandjan
	Bulaindjan	Warmut	Warmutjan
Karmarung	Bangaritjan	Buralang	Kalian
	Koitjan	Balang	Bilindjan
Warmut	Koitjan	Balang	Bilindjan
	Bangaritjan	Buralang	Kalian

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OI17 Murngin OI17

617 The eight sub-sections, with their totems, are as follows:—

Sub-sections		Totems
Male	Female	
(Yiritcha)		
Ngarit	Ngaritjan	Slender-limbed kangaroo
Bulain	Bulaindjan	Stout-limbed kangaroo
Kaijark	Koitjan	Fork-tailed kite
		Large black lizard
		Wagtail
Bangardi	Bangaritjan	Emu
(Dua)		
Buralang	Kalian	Agile wallaby
		Smaller wallaby
Balang	Bilindjan	White-breasted sea-eagle
Kamarung	Kumandjan	Wedge-tailed eagle
Warmut	Warmutjan	Black-breasted buzzard
		Black-nosed kangaroo

611 616 The moieties are determined by patrilineal descent, but the sub-sections by matrilineal descent.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

THE ARNHEM LAND ABORIGINES

Arnhem Land belongs to two main groups, who differ considerably insofar as language and certain aspects of their culture are concerned. Perhaps the best way to present a clear general picture of their culture patterns is to outline and contrast the elements that are outstanding in both. For the sake of brevity we shall not digress to discuss minor local deviations like those of the Groote Eylandt and Rose River areas. 101

A common cultural bond links most of the Aborigines of western Arnhem Land, taking Oenpelli, the Goulburn Islands, and the Liverpool and King rivers, with its eastern boundary near Cape Stewart; but there are some traditional deviations, as well as some linguistic differences. The Maung of Goulburn Islands seem to have been at one period more or less isolated from contact with the mainlanders, who rarely came over to the islands; but at ceremonial times the Maung would come to Sandy Creek, on the mainland opposite South Goulburn Island, for the big *maraiin* (sacred) rituals. 101 184

The people of eastern Arnhem Land, from Cape Stewart to Blue Mud Bay, refer to themselves as the Wulamba group, a number of clans that form a "tribe" with more or less common cultural background. Natives outside this region, for example those at Groote Eylandt, often call them the "Balamumu Confederacy". "Balamumu" may be roughly translated as "those of the sea", that is, coastal people. The dialects of all these clans may be classed together as Miwoidj'mada. The whole eastern area is divided among a number of clans, some now extinct and others seriously diminished in population, which share certain linguistic groups. These language groups are considered most important, and they belong exclusively to either the *dua* or the *jiritja* moiety, a division which extends throughout this whole area. Descent within them is patrilineal, but a man (or woman) always feels some attachment to the clan and linguistic group of his mother and mother's brother. 101 184 619 [197] [616] [611]

In western Arnhem Land, tribes and groups of tribes are (or were) independent units, not subdivided into clans. Tribal blocs were formed by those dependent on their neighbours in matters affecting economy, marriage and secular and sacred ceremony, and certain tribes recognised closer ties with one another than 184 619

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

with other adjacent groups. On the border line between western and eastern Arnhem Land there are tribes affiliated with the eastern people, but retaining their own distinct cultural pattern. Apart from the linguistic variations between the eastern and western groups, and the tribal organisation of the one and the clan-linguistic group set-up of the other, the principal difference lies in the eastern form of mainly patrilineal descent and the western pattern of descent through the mother.

The moiety is the most important feature in the social organisation of the Wulamba people of the east and south-east. It serves to classify under these two main headings all clans and linguistic groups, the known universe, and the whole life of the people, and affiliates all those belonging to the same moiety. The moieties are exogamous, and are thus the basis upon which marriage rules depend.

In western Arnhem Land we find the moiety-phratry arrangement (related to the totem) now influenced from the south by the subsection system, which is widely spread throughout Aboriginal Australia. Another feature here is the *nanamaindj*, which establishes a child's affinity with his father's group. This, together with tribal and linguistic membership, is patrilineal; but the descent of the moiety, phratry (and totem), and subsection, is matrilineal.

In eastern Arnhem Land the subsections have not yet been fully co-ordinated with the kinship structure, and many of the older people do not use them. Normally, however, the subsections are based on a system of marriage and descent, and are essentially a matter of kinship organisation. They group various relatives together under one term, in such a way that for general purposes all kinship terms are reduced to eight; and since there are eight divisions in this subsection system, four belong to one moiety, and four to the other.[1]

The eastern Arnhem Landers possess certain fundamental features in common with most other Australian Aboriginal communities. Away from European settlements, for instance, they are hunters and collectors who must forage for their food. On the northern and eastern coast of Arnhem Land food is certainly abundant and varied, but its constant supply depends on the

in weaving and spinning by hand, and employ a simple spindle for the manufacture of string from opossum fur and human hair. They are skilled as wood carvers and make elaborately-barbed spear heads of wood, carved sacred totemic objects, and grave posts, as well as wooden dugout canoes. They also possess some skill in the working of metal, and make fine iron spear heads by beating out, cold, such unpromising material as odds and ends of scrap metal, rigging screws from ships, heavy metal drums, and even water pipes. In many of these processes the possession of special skill is recognised by the use of a distinctive name, and in their technology there is evidence of the beginning of craft specialisation.

Some account of the social organisation of the natives of Arnhem Land will be necessary in order to understand the economic organisation, food gathering and food preparation, and particularly the division of labour and the distribution of food.

The people of Eastern Arnhem Land are organised on a basis of localised totemic clans with patrilineal descent. The bond between members of a clan is descent, or belief in descent, from a common ancestor. Just as the individuals within each clan are believed to be related, so the clans themselves are considered to be linked to one another by the bonds of kinship which once existed among the clan ancestors or culture heroes who were the founders of the clans, thereby establishing a permanent relationship between the groups containing their kin which are believed to be descended from them.

In at least one respect the social organisation of Arnhem Land, east of Cape Stewart, is atypical. The definite tribal organisation which is a characteristic feature of most other

12: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1933 OI17 Murngin OI17

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The eight subsections, with their totems, are as follows:

Subsections.		Totems.
Male	Female	
(Yiritcha)		
Ngarit	Ngaritjan	*kurrtʃumbul gorowarau*[a] (slender-limbed kangaroo).
Bulain	Bulaindjan	*kurrtʃumbul borumgor* (stout-limbed kangaroo).
Kaijark	Koitjan	*karrkain* (fork-tailed kite).
		kurrtʃorrk (large black lizard).
		jiriwi-jiriwi (wagtail).
Bangardi	Bangaritjan	*urrban* (emu).
(Dua)		
Buralang	Kalian	*werrti* (agile wallaby).
		dʒandil (smaller wallaby).
Balang	Bilindjan	*damala* (white-breasted sea-eagle).
Kamarung	Kumandjan	*karmarug* (wedge-tailed eagle).
Warmut	Warmutjan	*warmut* (black-breasted buzzard).
		dulaku (black-nosed kangaroo).

The moieties are determined by patrilineal descent, but the subsections by matrilineal descent. [611]

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The regular system of marriage between the subsections, with the subsections of the offspring, is as follows:—

Yiritcha man.	Dua woman.	Yiritcha children.	
		Male.	Female.
Ngarit	Bilindjan	Bangardi	Bangaritjan
	Kalian	Kaijark	Koitjan
Bulain	Kalian	Kaijark	Koitjan
	Bilindjan	Bangardi	Bangaritjan
Kaijark	Warmutjan	Ngarit	Ngaritjan
	Kumandjan	Bulain	Bulaindjan
Bangardi	Kumandjan	Bulain	Bulaindjan
	Warmutjan	Ngarit	Ngaritdjan

Dua man.	Yiritcha woman.	Dua children.	
		Male.	Female.
Buralang	Bulaindjan	Warmut	Warmutjan
	Ngaritjan	Karmarung	Kumandjan
Balang	Ngaritjan	Karmarung	Kumandjan
	Bulaindjan	Warmut	Warmutjan
Karmarung	Bangaritjan	Buralang	Kalian
	Koitjan	Balang	Bilindjan
Warmut	Koitjan	Balang	Bilindjan
	Bangaritjan	Buralang	Kalian

[a] Rolled *r* is indicated by *rr*.

[P. 412]

MARRIAGE AND DESCENT IN EAST ARNHEM LAND

By A. P. ELKIN

611 MR. THEODOR WEBB'S article on "Social Organization in East Arnhem Land"[1] supplies evidence for the existence of a 114 rule of descent which is very interesting and at the same time unusual in Australia. He states that "the moieties are determined by patrilineal descent, but the subsections by matrilineal descent." Perhaps it would be better to say that the descent of the moieties is patrilineal, while the descent of the subsections, which are divided between the moieties, four in each, is indirect patrilineal; but there is a proviso that in the case of alternate marriage, of which there is a regular scheme, the children belong to the subsection of the father's moiety to which they would have belonged had their *actual mother* been regularly married according to the strict subsection rule. Thus, the father is "thrown away" as far as the subsection is concerned.

617 Now, the subsection from which the alternate wife comes, 582 belongs to the same section as the subsection of the regular wife. 611 This may be put graphically as follows (the usual *Oceania* symbols are used):

$A^1 = B^1$
$A^2 = B^2$
$C^1 = D^1$
$C^2 = D^2$

A man of subsection A^1 normally marries a woman of subsection B^1, and his children belong to subsection D^2. But he may marry a woman of the other subsection of section B, that is B^2; if he does so, his children belong to D^1 and not to D^2. This is what follows if a woman of B^2 were married to a man of A^2, her regular spouse, and bore him children. If, on the other hand, a man of A^2 married a woman of B^1, his alternate wife, the children are no longer D^1, but D^2. Such is the scheme of descent for all the marriages, regular and

[1] *Oceania*, III, 406-411.

13: Elkin E-4 (no date) 1933 OI17 Murngin OI17

alternate, between the subsections. As far as the sections are concerned—ignoring the two subsections into which each section has been divided—the normal rules of marriage and descent are followed, namely, $\begin{pmatrix} A = B \\ C = D \end{pmatrix}$, and this was the conclusion of W. Lloyd Warner, who worked in the same region as Mr. Webb.[2]

But Mr. Webb's article reveals a most interesting feature of the subsection system in East Arnhem Land, namely, that the cycle of a man of any one subsection is not completed until by marriage and descent all eight subsections have been gone through, and until by descent alone all four subsections of his own moiety have been gone through. In the typical Australian subsection system, however, the cycle is completed by going through four of the subsections in marriage and descent, and two of the man's own moiety in descent only. To put it in another way, in the East Arnhem Land system as described by Mr. Webb, a man and his son's son do not belong to the one subsection, as is the case in the typical systems; the first descendant that belongs to the man's own subsection is his son's son's son's son. Or to use the usual symbols, in the typical system a man of A^1 marries a woman of B^1 and has children D^2; his son, D^2, marries a woman of C^2 and his children are back in A^1. But according to the table provided by Mr. Webb the cycle is: a man of A^1 marries a woman of B^1 and has a son D^2; the latter marries a woman of C^2 and has a son A^2 (not A^1 as in the usual systems); he then marries a woman of B^2 and has a son D^1, who marries a woman of C^1 and his children belong to A^1. According to this rule a man and his son's son cannot marry women of the same subsection, except in the case of an alternate marriage, for they belong to the two different subsections of one section. But in the case of an alternate marriage A^1 marries a woman of B^1, and his son D^2 marries a woman of C^1 instead of C^2, and so his children belong to A^1, the subsection of their father's father.

[2] "Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinship," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 33, 2, 184.

13: Elkin E-4 (no date) 1933 O117 Murngin O117

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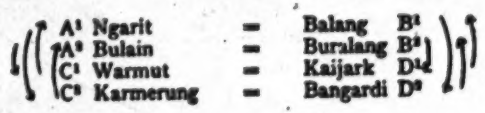
Using the East Arnhem Land subsection terms as well as the usual symbols, the system may be tabulated as follows:



The sign = connects intermarrying pairs of subsections, and the arrows the subsections of mother and child. It should further be remembered that the subsections Ngarit, Bulain, Kaijark and Bangardi together form the Yiritja patrilineal moiety, while the Balang, Buralang, Warmut and Karmerung belong to the Dua moiety. The above table depicts the regular scheme of marriage and descent according to Mr. Webb; an alternate marriage could result in shortening the cycle, as already explained.

In the descent of the subsections Webb differs from Warner, who gives the normal rule of marriage and descent in East Arnhem Land to be the typical Australian rule; that is, in the case of regular marriages a man and his son's son belong to the one subsection, while in alternate marriage descent depends on the mother alone. Indeed, Warner goes further and says that the descent of the subsections always depends on the mother, is matrilineal, and never bi-lineal. He further states that a man of either of the two subsections (say A^1 and A^2), which together make up one section (A), may marry into either of the subsections (B^1 and B^2), which together make up the other member of the intermarrying pair of sections (such as A and B).[3] Webb, however, says that the rule is for A^1 to marry B^1, though under certain circumstances he might marry B^2. Now this would appear to be the case, for as Warner points out,[4] the marriage rule is with mother's brother's daughter, and normally speaking the mother's brother's daughter of A^1 belongs to B^1, that is, to A^1's regular intermarrying subsection, according to Webb's table of marriage and descent. But according to Warner's formula,[5] which expresses the typical Australian subsection system, such as we find

[3] W. Lloyd Warner, *op. cit.*, 184-185.
[4] *Op. cit.*, 188.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 184.

13: Elkin E-4 (no date) 1933 OI17 Murngin OI17

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amongst the Northern Aranda and others, a man of East Arnhem Land could only marry his correct spouse, that is, his mother's brother's daughter, if he married into the alternate subsection (B^2), unless his mother's brother (C^2) had married his "alternate spouse" (D^1 instead of D^2). It should be remembered that one function performed by the normal and usual subsection system is to put cross-cousins into a different subsection from certain second-cousins (the children of mother's cross-cousins, *etc.*), and to put the latter, and not the former, into the subsection with which a person's own subsection regularly intermarries. Thus, in the usual Australian systems, the cross-cousins of A^1 are classed in subsection B^2, with which subsection A^1 does not intermarry. In other words, the subsection system is normally associated with the prohibition of cross-cousin marriage and with the rule of marriage with the daughter of parents' cross-cousin, own or tribal. But the whole point about the East Arnhem Land system is an association of subsections with a rule of marriage with the mother's brother's daughter. That obviously means that under a normal observance of the kinship marriage rule the rule of the descent of the subsections cannot be the same as in those tribes in which subsections are really part of the machinery for preventing cross-cousin marriage. Now, Mr. Webb's table of the marriage and descent of the subsections just shows how this association of subsections and matrilineal cross-cousin marriage can be worked. It is done normally by a cycle which, as we have seen, runs through the whole eight subsections, and not only four of them.

Mr. Webb's account of the descent of the subsections must, of course, be carefully checked, but there does not seem to be any reason for doubting its accuracy. It seems to be based on first-hand information from the natives whom he knows well, and apparently it has not been affected by any attempt to make it fit any theoretical formula of the working of subsection systems. Moreover, the fact that Mr. Webb does not even mention the kinship marriage rule probably strengthens the value of his evidence for the bare working of the subsection system in his region. In other words, Mr. Webb's account does not seem to have been in any way the result of theoretical considerations. Mr. Warner, on the other hand,

13: Elkin E-4 (no date) 1933 O117 Murngin O117

seems to be passing over the larger cycle of the marriage and descent of the subsections, and merely treating the system as one of four sections; indeed, he almost ignores the subsections.[6] But the subsection system seems to be quite important in this area; it has totemic significance, it is used in daily conversation almost as much as the kinship terms, and it is of great value in ascertaining relationship and the associated modes of behaviour at inter-tribal gatherings. It is not therefore an unimportant subdivision of the four sections in East Arnhem Land any more than it is, say, in East Kimberley. Indeed, it is so important that it has been most carefully arranged to fit in with a rule of marriage with the mother's brother's daughter. Theoretically, this has been regarded as impossible, as, of course, it is, if the typical rule of the marriage and descent of the subsections be adhered to. The aborigines of this area were not so bound by theory, and faced with a practical problem, they seem to have solved it in a most ingenious manner by doubling the normal length of the cycle. The anthropologist finds in this another reason for not underestimating the intelligence of the Australian aborigine.

A. P. ELKIN

A NOTE UPON A SIMILAR SYSTEM AMONG THE NANGIOMERI

By W. E. H. STANNER

DURING the course of my field work in the Daly River–Fitzmaurice River district of North Australia in 1932 I spent two or three weeks among the Nangiomeri tribe, whose true historic location is about 60 to 100 miles south-west of the white settlement on the Daly River, where the few remaining members of this tribe now live. The Nangiomeri possess a kinship system of a type closely related to that reported by Mr. Webb and upon which Dr. Elkin's interpretative article is based. I imagined at the time of my discovery and recording of the Nangiomeri system that it might be purely a localized phenomenon, but its occurrence in Arnhem Land, many hundreds of miles away, makes this variant full of important implications for the general theory of Australian kinship. This note is therefore appended to Dr. Elkin's article.

The Nangiomeri have been until recently a tribe without sections, subsections, moieties, or any named or unnamed divisions whatever. They probably once possessed a form of patrilineal totemism. Their kinship system was of general Kariera

[6] *Op. cit.* On a chart facing page 187, Warner simply uses the symbols $A^{1\,2}$, $B^{1\,2}$, $C^{1\,2}$, and $D^{1\,2}$, so that the subsection signs are valueless.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

my father both belong to another subsection; further, my mother's brother's children and my father's sister's children belong to one group, whereas the children of the cross-cousins of my parents are divided amongst two other groups. In these tribes, too, the rules prohibit marriage with one's own cross-cousins (mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter), but allow marriage with the daughters of certain of the cross-cousins of one's parents. Therefore, the subsection or group which includes these possible spouses is the wife subsection, whereas the other one, the cross-cousin subsection, must be regarded differently.

It used to be said that the main function of this eight-subsection system was to separate one's first (cross) cousins whom one must not marry from those second cousins whom one could marry, and that the system would not make sense in a tribe which allowed marriage with mother's brother's daughter. However, the Aborigines are the best judges of that. The subsection system came to them at intertribal meetings; they considered it to be of practical value, and being also interested in its totemic and ceremonial aspects, they adopted it. In doing so they modified its principle of descent in the male line, so as to fit in with marriage with mother's brother's daughter. The result, briefly put, is that instead of a man and his son's son belonging to the same subsection, a series of four subsections is gone through before a man and his direct descendant belong to the one group—that is, a man is grouped with his son's son's son's son.

The actual subsection terms used in the region are:

The sign = connects intermarrying pairs of subsections,

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

617 persons who in many cases are cross-cousins (mother's brother's children or father's sister's children) to one another; and the arrows connect the subsections of mother and child.

By following the table it will be seen that a Ngarit man marries a Balang woman and his son belongs to Bangardi. Likewise, Bangardi marries a Karmerung woman and has a Bulain son. So too, a Bulain man's son is Kaijark, and a Kaijark man's son is back to Ngarit. In the same way, Balang man's son is Karmerung, whose son is Buralang, whose son is Warmut, whose son is back into the Balang subsection.

616 These two male lines (or cycles) of descent are interesting for another reason. Before the north-east Arnhem Land natives adopted the subsection system, they possessed what Mr Chaseling refers to as two moieties, Dua and Yiritcha, the dual organization. This division, which is social and ceremonial in function, runs through the whole community, dividing it into two groups, membership of which is determined by descent in the male line. Moreover, Dua peoples must marry Yiritcha peoples and vice versa. This means that a man and his children, his son's children, and those of his son's son and son's son's son, all belong to the same moiety, whereas the wives and husbands of these persons all belong to the other moiety.

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616 Then came the eight subsection system, which the natives
617 adjusted to their kinship grouping and marriage rules, and,
179 with as great facility, to their moiety organization. One series or cycle of four subsections, each related to the preceding one as child to father (that is, patrilineally), was equated to one moiety, and the other series to the other. Thus, the Yiritcha moiety consists of the Ngarit-Bangardi-Bulain-Kaijark-Ngarit cycle, and the Dua moiety of the Balang-Karmerung-Buralang-Warmut-Balang cycle. The result is that when a Ngarit man, who incidentally must be